UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Editor in Chief

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Religion and Revolution

By EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

The Challenge to Disarmament

By WILFRED WELLOCK

Romain Rolland on Gandhi and India

Anti-Filipino Race Riots in California

By CHESTER C. PLATT

VOLUME CVI NUMBER 24

Chicago, February 23, 1931

UNITY

Established 1878

Published Weekly *Subscription $3.00*

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
"Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 10, 1930, at the Post office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

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Please address all communications to W. Jivaraj De Alwis, 475 Summer Ave., Newark, N. J. Phone Humboldt 2—0554.

The World Court

The National World Court Committee has made public a list of 7,586 persons who have signed a petition "urging prompt and favorable action by the Senate on the World Court protocols."

The list includes 161 bankers and business executives, 98 bishops, 208 university and college presidents, 602 clergymen, 285 deans, professors and teachers, and 100 judges and lawyers. The signers are from all parts of the country, with the largest number from New York State, and with Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Iowa, Pennsylvania, California and Ohio following in the order of the number of signers.

The petition reads as follows:

"Believing that the United States should join the World Court without further delay, we, the undersigned United States citizens, petition the Senate of the United States to take favorable action on the three protocols submitted to it by the President, either

(*Continued on Page* 384)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

VOLUME CVI MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1931 NUMBER 24

TO HUSBANDS AND WIVES

"Love one another, but make not a bond of love;
Let it rather be a moving sea between the shores of your souls.
Fill each other's cup, but drink not from one cup.
Give one another of your bread, but eat not from the same loaf.
Sing and dance together and be joyous, but let each one of you be alone,
Even as the strings of a lute are alone though they quiver with the same music.
Give your hearts, but not into each other's keeping,
For only the hand of Life can contain your hearts.
And stand together, yet not too near together:
For the pillars of the temple stand apart,
And the oak tree and the cypress grow not in each other's shadow."

—*Kahlil Gibran,* in "The Prophet"

There was a time when bank failures were an occasion of great public excitement and indignation. We can remember when William Jennings Bryan was stumping the country on behalf of the public guarantee of bank deposits. But today banks are closing right and left, and nobody seems to think it anything strange or abominable. The crash of the Bank of United States, in New York, made some noise, to be sure. But every day we pick up our newspaper and read in a two-inch news dispatch, in some obscure corner deep inside the paper, that a bank has failed in this town or that—and nothing more is said! We have been told that the failures of these small town banks during the last year and more are to be numbered not by hundreds but by the thousands. We know of one good-sized city in the Middle West which has been ruined by the failure of the two leading banks of the community. Citizens have gone bankrupt, societies and fraternal orders have lost all their funds, churches have been forced to close their doors and dismiss their ministers. Yet nobody seems to get excited, or to think such disasters unusual, least of all criminal! Is this because we are a calm, cool, undaunted people, or is it because we are "easy marks" who take bank failures, as we take political corruption, bootlegging, racketeering, and unemployment, "lying-down"? Certainly, there seems to be a kind of fatalism settling down upon the moods of the American people which would do credit to a Moslem. We have seemingly lost all capacity for moral indignation and protest. Which is as sure a sign of public degeneracy as anything we know! Incidentally, in connection with all these bank failures, it might be well to remember that in Woodrow Wilson's administration we established a Federal Reserve System which was going to end bank failures forever!

The figures of unemployment in this country today are steadily mounting. The total, no man knows, except that they are vastly more than has yet been admitted by any official expert. The government gives the minimum figure it can get away with, we may be sure of that. But when all the unemployed have been counted—if they could be counted!—the actual amount of idleness in the land has not been measured. Let us tell you how our stores in New York City are doing it just now! Under strong pressure from Washington, the big employers are not discharging any more employees. Their staffs, as a matter of fact, are reduced to a skeleton, and any further actual discharge would be dangerous. So instead of firing their help, they are giving them vacations without pay. To three, or six, or a dozen clerks on Saturday night, they say, "You needn't report Monday. We are giving you two weeks' vacation (without pay!). Come back a fortnight hence." These clerks, be it noted, would still be listed in any census as "employed." They have jobs—only their jobs are not working all the time! And, incidentally, no money owing to a lay-off is just as bad as no money owing to a discharge. It's this sort of thing that is now the favorite game of our large employers of labor. We read (New York *Times,* February 2nd) that twenty-five great corporations "with an aggregate of several hundred thousand employees, contemplate no reduction in working forces." Fine—on the surface! But look underneath, and you will find that these companies have long since cut their forces to the bone, and are now going to farm out the rest on vacations in mid-winter. So do we fool ourselves! And the dear people swallow it all, and think how beneficent are our hard-pressed capitalists.

If there is anything more intolerable in this modern so-called civilization of ours than advertising, we would like to know what it is. We pick up our newspaper to find out what is going on in the world, and we are laden down with a vast welter of advertising broadsides, with a few columns of news items tucked

away here and there amid the huge proclamations of the merits of automobiles, tooth pastes, shirts, hats, furniture and lingerie. Has anybody ever computed the ratio between advertising columns and news columns in any one of our more successful journals? We turn on our radio, and in the very midst of occasional excellent programs find our ears anointed with the salvy voices of announcers telling us we must use Mobiloil, Pepsodent, Listerine, Coca-Cola, Palmolive, and other patent preparations which we don't want and won't have. Imagine going to a lecture, a symphony concert, or a play, and having the beginning, the end, and the middle of the occasion taken up by some medicine man tooting the virtues of his wares! Disgusted, we drop newspaper and radio and seek escape in the open air, only to find every open field, every clump of woods, every hill-top and cross-roads, cluttered up with bill-boards of enormous dimensions giving us instructions about Goodrich Tires, inducements to the best cigarette, directions to the nearest hotel or hot-dog stand. And now we are told that the "talkies" are about to be taken over by the advertisers—every screen play in the future is to be sponsored by some toilet article corporation or dry goods firm! Against this infernal nuisance we know of but one effective line of attack, and that is to buy nothing that is offensively advertised. This isn't always possible. How to buy an automobile under these conditions would put any one of us in a quandary! But we take pains ourself to use a tooth-paste which is neither "on the air" nor in the pastures; we buy shoes we have never seen glittering on electric signs; we find joy in refusing to recognize the latest shouted styles in hats, collars and shirts. Futile? Perhaps! But, even so, we cling to our self-respect, like the one pig who refused to budge when the Gadarene swine ran down a steep-place into the sea.

Some advertising man is sure to see the above editorial, and write in a "letter to the editor" about church advertising. Do not the churches advertise? Yes, they *do!* But not in the offensively blatant and utterly commercial way in which business advertisers. The attempt to persuade the churches to use bill-boards and street-car placards and electric-signs has failed, and properly failed. For the churches are not concerned with persuading, or rather brow-beating, the helpless public into buying what it does not want and cannot need. On the contrary, they undertake simply to announce to the public certain services and meetings which the people may take or leave, just as they see fit. In this sense, the churches may hardly be said to be doing *advertising,* in the strictly modern sense of the word, at all. This is beautifully illustrated by the fact that a high-class newspaper like the New York *Times* refuses to allow the churches to insert in its regular religious columns anything more than simple card announcements. Anything of a display character must run its chances with the commercial "ads." But even advertising of the plain announcement type is a concession on the part of the churches to the commercialization of the age. Physicians and surgeons and dentists do not advertise—it is a violation of professional ethics to do so! Lawyers who are not "shysters" do not "bally-hoo" their activities in newspapers and on bill-boards. Scholars and professors do not toot their talents on street-corners and on house-tops. It is the sign of a profession, such as law, medicine, teaching, that it is engaged in *service,* and this fact, in the very nature of the case, precludes advertising. Yet modern business is all the time talking about "service"! We shall believe this empty chatter when we see business abandoning a type of advertising which involves, as Stuart Chase has taught us, a waste which is paralyzing, and which has no other aim than that of deceiving the public into buying goods which are not necessary for prices which are extortionate.

The word "humanism" seems to be curiously elastic. Just now it is being used to describe no less than three entirely distinct and separate movements. Thus, in the field of literature, it is the word employed by Prof. Irving Babbitt, of Harvard, and Prof. Paul Elmer More, of Princeton, to interpret their movement for the restoration of the classical spirit in scholarship and writing. Again, in the field of political economy, it is being used by a certain group of radicals to describe a communistic doctrine of thought and life—as see Mr. Leon Samson's book, "The New Humanism." Lastly, there is the religious signification of the word in the growing controversy with orthodox theism. What is the common quality which binds together these three uses of the same word, it would take a scholastic of the Middle Ages to discover. Meanwhile, the result in popular discussion is confusion worse confounded. For the religious humanists nothing is more important than a clear differentiation of their viewpoint from that of the others. This is not difficult in the case of literary humanism, for the latter is as plainly a movement of reaction as humanism in religion is a movement of advance. But discrimination in the case of economic humanism is not so easy, for the latter's trend toward materialism is dangerously close to the former's possible entanglement with atheism. Religious humanism is at bottom a movement of spiritual emancipation. It would liberate man's soul from the bondage of dogma, and in that soul as revealed in the basic experiences of life, find the essential content of religion. It would sweep away the last vestiges of superstition, and follow confidently the clear white light of reason. Humanism in literature and economics impresses us as a new slavery; in religion, as a new freedom.

Edgar Lee Master's new book, "Lincoln the Man," proves that its author is at least a brave man. He chal-

lenges not only tradition but history, throws overboard the literature of a half-century, and asks us to believe that he alone is right. This is bravery of a kind—or is it sheer infatuation, like that of the Irish woman who gazed at the line of marching soldiers, and cried, "O, look! All o' them out o' step but me boy, Patrick?" But, of course, as always in a performance of this kind, Masters overreaches himself. His purpose in his book is frankly to discredit Abraham Lincoln—to prove that he was an incompetent and wicked man, and his presidency thus a disaster to the nation. Masters starts out by laying down the proposition that Lincoln was a second-rater. He had no knowledge, no ability, idealism, or dignity—only a consuming ambition to get on and up at any price. Circumstances aided him, and in the end made him the country's chief in the darkest hour of its history. But in all he did, says Masters, he was ordinary. Save in his wiles, he was utterly commonplace. But look what followed upon this man's leadership! Lincoln wrecked forever the rule of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy; he established the Republican Party, as the organization of the plutocracy, in a position of such power that two generations have not been able to dislodge or even weaken it; he rewrote the Constitution, and ended the Bill of Rights; he transformed the Republic, so that with him one history ends and another history begins. All this done by a second-rater! Such achievements sound more like Julius Caesar to us. Which only means that Edgar Lee Masters, in his indictment of Lincoln, has made himself ridiculous! His venom is exceeded only by his self-stultification. We think that Lincoln will survive this book, but we doubt if Masters, even with the help of Mencken, can do so.

Religion and Revolution

Ever since the days of Karl Marx, there have been plenty of social radicals who have said that religion both in its theory and its practice works against economic justice, that it is always and everywhere a counter revolutionary force, in very truth "The opiate of the people."

Stalin has expressed the thought in these words:

> The Party cannot be neutral towards religion and does conduct anti-religious propaganda against all and every religious prejudice because it stands for science, while religious prejudice runs counter to science, because all religion is something opposite to science.
>
> The Party cannot be neutral towards religious prejudices because this is one of the best means of undermining the influence of the reactionary clergy who support the exploiting classes and who preach submission to these classes.

Quotations such as this may be multiplied indefinitely. An analysis of this view point brings to light four main assertions. They are not always stated clearly; they are not always explicit but they are always implied. For the sake of clarity I will state them baldly.

The *first* is, that the religious view of the world is false and is opposed to science. The *second,* that religion works to prevent revolution by turning the thoughts of the masses from their economic exploitation towards a future life and mystical communion with God. The *third,* that religion by its teaching against violence and its inculcation of love takes away the fighting edge of the people as they struggle against their oppressors. The *fourth,* that religious organizations inevitably become tied up with the ruling class, identify themselves with it and work actively against social change. Let us look at these in turn:

First: the assertion that science has proved religion false. This is rooted in the idea that modern science has made the great discoveries of our day by strict adherence to the principle that everything is mechanically caused. Now science it is said has searched the universe and can find no God, no evidence of design, no friendliness to man, just blind chance. Thus the explanation of the universe is to be found in materialism. When Marx wrote this idea was widespread and is so today. But this assertion that the religious view of the universe is false does not rest on really modern science. It rests rather on the science of yesterday. This decade has brought an astonishing change in the attitude of physical scientists. Matter has dissolved into mathematical equations. Jeans and Eddington and Millikan and others of the greatest names frankly say that materialism and determinism are both played out, that as philosophies they are bankrupt. The whole trend of the last five years has been toward an acknowledgement that reason is at work in the universe, that thought is the source of all things. Science today is not in the mood of the science of Marx's day. Science today tends more and more to say that mind is at the centre of the universe and this is but another way of saying what the religious man has always said that at the heart of the universe there is something akin to ourselves. When it is asserted that science has proved religion false the science implied is not that of the great scientists of the past decade but rather the science of the last century.

The *second* proposition of those who believe that *religion* works against the interests of the masses is that it prevents revolution by *turning men's minds from their real economic ills by promising them illusory and religious goods.* What is implied is that religion talks to men of a future life which is really non-existent. There is always the assumption that the critics have proved immortality a myth. But this is absurd for the opponents of religion are in no better logical position on

this than the believers, for there is no demonstration that human survival is a mere hope. On the contrary there is an ever growing body of fact in the field of psychical research which looks strongly in the direction of personal survival. However all this is somewhat beside the point. The real question is as to the effect of a belief in a future life upon the activity of men in their battle against economic injustice. If men believe in a future state will they not be more content to bear the ills they face because of the prospect that something better is coming? It has often been argued that way but experience doesn't prove it. As a matter of fact many of those who have believed in a future existence have felt that it was all the more important that human souls should not be injured because those injuries might go far beyond this life. Child Labor, for instance, seen from this point of view, is far more deadly than when seen from the earth life alone. Seen from this life it kills the body but seen from the standpoint of continued existence it stunts immortal souls. It seems that there ought to be added zest for social justice on the part of those who believe in another life. As a matter of fact we find that it is so. Those men and women who have believed that men have immortal souls have felt that the struggle was far more worth while; they have faced difficulties and been undaunted by them just because of their faith.

But the belief in a future life is only one phase of this proposition. There is also for the religious man the fact of real communion with the power which has made the earth and the sun and has brought man into being. This communion with the Eternal has proved tremendously important in the lives of multitudes of men and women who have devoted themselves to the struggle for a human society which will give a square deal to all. Such reliance upon non-human energy has not palsied action but has instead inspired it and given it strength to carry on. It is, as William James long ago pointed out, one of the sources of human energy. It seems an unnecessary loss when some radicals so contemptuously toss this aside as of no value in their fight for a new social order.

The third proposition or thesis of those who believe that religion is always a counter revolutionary force is that religion by *teaching love makes it impossible to wage effective warfare against the exploiting class.* They assert that the teaching of Hosea, Jesus, Tolstoy and Gandhi that we ought to forgive our enemies makes it impossible to wage effective war against the oppressors. They say that we must not forgive our enemies but liquidate them. On first impression there does seem to be point to this attack upon religion. Ethical religion of the Hebrew-Christian tradition does indeed teach forgiveness and urges that mercy and kindness be extended even to the enemy who has wronged us. On the surface this does seem absurd. Yet it must be remembered that this doctrine does not mean that nothing is to be done against injustice and wrong. It simply means that for really effective warfare the struggle must be made in the realm of what in the great war we called the "imponderables." We must protest against injustice; we must be willing to suffer to eradicate it, even die for the cause. But the method of attack is not that of the bomb and the torch but rather the method of the old monk Telemachus who sealed the fate of the Roman gladitorial combats by rushing into the arena and taking the blows which were laid upon him. He died but the sight of the old monk's protest shook the popular belief in the rightness of these inhuman spectacles. Now it is the faith of the religious man that this method will do more permanent good towards the achievement of the socialist state than the method of war and violence which has been used since time immemorial but so far has succeeded only in substituting one ruling caste for another. The religious man is strengthened in his faith by the obvious fact that the passions of hate and cruelty which so many social radicals seek to arouse tend to carry over into the new society even if perchance the enemy be repulsed. The hatred aroused demands an object. Former allies turn upon each other. Here in the United States after making peace against Germany we had so much stored up hatred that we had to vent it upon Russia.

But possibly a better illustration is found in the labor movement in New York. Some years ago the employers in the garment trade began to use gangsters in their struggles with the union. The union felt that it could do nothing else but follow suit. It did so and both sides came to use these disreputable tactics. The next step and one that was almost inevitable was for the officers who hired the gangsters to use them to keep themselves in office. From this it was but a short step for the gangsters to dictate to the officers and take over the union themselves. It seemed necessary to meet force with force but the effect of the whole tactic was to smash the union.

In brief then the ethically religious man wants a new social order just as passionately as does the Marxian socialist but he is convinced that it is highly dangerous to rely upon the passion of hatred and the method of violence as the way to get it. He is convinced that history proves, if it proves anything at all, that along this road there is no permanent progress, that the effect of this tactic is merely to replace one group of oppressors by another. Religious revolutionists are convinced that a society based upon brotherhood and justice can be achieved only by methods which are consistent with human solidarity. They are convinced that a good society cannot be secured by an evil tactic.

The *fourth* proposition on which the foe of religion relies is that *religious organizations inevitably get tied up with the ruling class and so work actively to deprive the working class of their birth right.* In

this we must grant there is a real element of truth. In Russia that is exactly what happened. The Church and State were one. The priests were the tools of the ruling aristocracy; they did take advantage of the gullibility of the people; they did keep them in ignorance. Moreover it is true that a religious organization, like any other organization, acquires property and special interests and tends for that reason to become conservative. In fact there are some deeply religious men and women who believe that it is a mistake to have any kind of a religious organization just because organization itself tends to kill religion. Surely we must admit there is a real danger here, a danger which not a few religious folk are well aware must be guarded against. Then too there is always the danger that men of great wealth will make large gifts to the church and thus try to stifle its voice on economic and social questions. Revolutionists have been quick to see this danger and they have been right in pointing it out. On the other hand this is not a necessary part of religion as is well shown by the way in which groups within the churches are always the most thorough going critics of those churches. Again we have repeatedly seen here in the United States that at several junctures the churches have done more in defense of the right to advocate social change than the labor groups. I refer particularly to the fact that the churches a few years ago were rather more vocal on the subject of political prisoners than the American Labor movement.

Thus of the four assertions that lie back of the assumption of many radicals that religion works against economic justice, the first is false, the second is doubtful, the third is untrue, but the fourth is frequently true, too frequently indeed for the ease of religious folk. And yet this whole question will be finally settled on the response which religious men and women make to the just demands of the workers. We who believe that there is cosmic support for the urge within men which makes them battle for the day when social classes shall be no more will prove the truth of our belief by our acts far more than by our arguments.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Jottings

We usually think of revolutionists as young men. But the late Pandit Móhilal Nehru died at 70, after serving prison sentences on behalf of a free India, and giving leadership to the National Congress second only to that of Gandhi. And the Mahatma himself is well over 60!

Citizens of Chicago who have been victims of bandits, burglars, bootleggers and other racketeers are being organized into a society for the support of the mayoralty candidacy of John H. Lyle. This Mr. Lyle evidently wants to be elected unanimously.

In a certain popular play now running in New York, an actor, playing the part of an editor, referred repeatedly to the "tabs." Every time he spoke, we thought he said the "rags." Well—perhaps he did!

Gandhi Invictus

They did not set him free for Freedom's sake.
But that they might convict him yet again
Did he refuse to sanction and Amen
The dallied promises they seemed to make
When he had forced their hands: they would but break
The fine point of his too-persuasive pen
Whereby their sword had failed; his prison-den
A throne wherefrom he spoke the world awake.

How shall the slave of office, dolled and tricked
With pride of circumstance, an hour bestowed,
Contingent upon robbery's consent;
How shall he measure one who has not bent
His knee to Baal? nor abjectly pricked
His ear, that he might walk the affluent road.

ROBERT WHITAKER

"Politics make strange bedfellows." So do principles! Here are the Chicago *Tribune* and the American Civil Liberties Union both fighting the so-called Minnesota "gag" law in the Supreme Court.

Exports of spirits from Britain to Canada and the West Indies fell off 21 per cent in 1930 as compared with 1929. The actual decline in bulk was 1,552,216 gallons. The explanation of this fact, as reported in the New York *Times,* is "the tightening group of American prohibition patrols."

Inflated Reputations (10) The average American business man who, as a matter of fact, is ignorant, flighty, wasteful, inefficient, and timid.

J. H. H.

In the Beginning

In the beginning of the earth,
before there were trees, or any green thing,
in a world of rock and sea,
there were voices.

Faint voices, borne from infinitely far,
shifting in the wash of the water,
calling in the quivering wind.

Piping of birds,
bellowing of beasts,
myriad voices of men.

Your words and songs and laments were there, and mine,—
and all the voices that were to be,
ever.

CHARLES BALLARD

The Challenge to Disarmament

[A Speech by Wilfred Wellock in the British House of Commons]

I am convinced that before we are able to disarm the world and feel really secure for peace, we shall have to take bigger risks than we have ever taken in the past and bigger risks than we have ever contemplated. There are risks in regard to armaments just as there are risks on behalf of peace. Indeed if we contemplate the risks, I am convinced that we shall be driven to the conclusion that there are more risks of national and international destruction in armaments than there are in disarmament. When we disarm, even by taking a certain amount of risk in disarming as an example, we bring into being new factors. We bring into being the moral factor, and the moral factor changes, not only the mentality of our own country, but the atmosphere of the whole world, and creates a new attitude towards the country that disarms. A quotation from the speech made by the Prime Minister at the opening of the Naval Conference is very appropriate. The right Hon. Gentleman then said:

> On the other hand, no one can say that an absolute security for peace and justice has yet been found. There are risks on whichever side one leans.

In another part of his speech he said:

> We must never under-estimate the effectiveness of moral bulwarks with no bayonet or bludgeon behind them.

It is because I have been driven to the belief that some measure of heroic action in the direction of disarmament by example, is necessary, that I am anxious to say a few words. It is now 12 years since the Great War ended. During those 12 years we have held a considerable number of disarmament conferences, and yet when we come to sum up what has been done we have to acknowledge that we are not any nearer the disarmament of the world. That, in a civilization such as ours, with all its spiritual and individual advancement, is a very grave reflection. Disarmament conference has followed disarmament conference, and on every occasion we have gone into those conferences with great hope, and yet, at the end, we have all been disappointed. There appears on the face of it to have been a certain amount of disarmament during the last 12 years, but actually there has not been disarmament. If we examine the figures of the various countries, we find that in some cases they have gone up, and, in the case of our own country, they have come down slightly. There are slight falls in our land forces and in the Navy, but there has been a gradual increase in the Air Force. Despite the falls, we have actually increased our armaments and our fighting power, and, although we are spending less money, that money is purchasing more life-destroying power than we had previously.

Speaking in a debate which took place on the Estimates in the spring of 1928, I made reference to certain remarks that had been made by the Minister of War, with respect to mechanization. As a result of the description that he then gave us of what was being done in the way of mechanization of the Army, I said that the impression left on my mind was that, as a result of mechanization, our fighting power was probably 100 per cent. greater than it had been a few years before. The Under-Secretary of State for War replied that that was the case. These were his words:

> The remark which has been made by hon. Members, that we have increased the fighting power of the Army by all these mechanized inventions and the various other appliances by twice the fighting power that it had before, is true, but it applies to every other Power.

That is true not only of the Army but of the Navy. Furthermore, we all know that our armed forces have been increasing gradually, and are still increasing. Faced with these facts, we really have to ask what is going to happen to the Conference on Disarmament.

I want to refer to the Naval Conference of this year. Every Member of the House will probably agree that no conference was ever better prepared for, nor has there been a Disarmament Conference in which the leaders have believed so intently in the possibility of bringing about disarmament, or have worked more sincerely to bring it about. The Prime Minister gave the greater part of five or six months to the work. We were all full of hopes of very great achievements. I have here a quotation from a speech by President Hoover in his Armistice message of 1929, when he was speaking with reference to the forthcoming conference. He said:

> We will reduce our naval strength in proportion to any other. Having said that, it only remains for the others to say how low they will go. It cannot be too low for us.

It is amazing to read that leaders of the countries at the Naval Conference were able to make statements like that, and raise the expectations and hopes of the peoples of the world in regard to disarmament, and yet, after a few months of negotiations, that so very little should have been done. I know that much was accomplished, and that the atmosphere was very largely changed as a result of that conference. That was the expression of the spirit of the people who were really conducting it. Our Government had a right to some credit of what was accomplished there.

When we actually come down to the figures in regard to disarmament, we find that very little has been achieved. Take our own naval expenditure during the previous five years, and compare it with the next five years, and I doubt very much if we shall see much reduction. That is not satisfactory, in my view. It is not facing the realities of the situation, and it is not ensuring the world either in regard to disarmament or against further war.

Now a few words about the Disarmament Preparatory Commission. I am sure that everyone will be grateful to the Foreign Secretary for having spoken in such very definite terms during the recent meetings of the League of Nations at Geneva. The Preparatory Commission has been brought to an end, and I am prepared to say that much has been accomplished by it. We are likely to have a certain number of definitions, and a definite framework, into which figures are going to be put, on which we can work in future years. Unless there is a good deal of propaganda in this country and in other countries, and unless the Governments are prepared to take risks in regard to disarmament, I am afraid that not very much will be achieved when we come to fill in that framework. That is my fear. I hope it may be wrong, but I have that fear, and I want to be on my guard. I want to ask

the House to be on its guard as to what the position may be. It will be a tragedy, when the World Disarmament Conference meets in 1931 or 1932, if it does not result in reducing the armaments of the world very considerably. The situation, in that event, will be very black, indeed. We shall have to face another four or five years, and nothing will be done. That will carry us to 1935 or 1936. We shall say, "Oh, well, we shall accomplish bigger things in 1936." The outlook in regard to other kinds of disarmament is rather dull. We are not expecting too much in 1931 and 1932, and are saying that probably the situation will be much better in 1935 or 1936.

There are two other points to which I should like to draw the attention of the House, for its very serious consideration. The first is with respect to naval building under the London Naval Agreement. Certain figures have been put down for all the nations. It is most important, in my view, that between now and 1936, during which these figures have to operate, that we should not build up to the limit of those figures. That is of profound importance. I have been going carefully through the speeches of Members of the American Congress and Senate on this matter and I find that many leading authorities on naval matters there are of opinion that America should not build up to the limits allowed by the London Naval Treaty in order to guarantee a much bigger reduction of armaments when the next Conference meets in 1936. I would quote to the House a statement from Mr. French, the chairman of the committee on naval appropriations. The quotation is as follows:

Mr. French, who occupies the strategic position of chairman of the House Committee which has the framing of the Annual Naval Appropriation Bill, urged moderation in carrying out the naval construction programme under the Treaty, and pointed out that Japan has decided to start on a programme involving only one-third of the tonnage allowed. He said: "Many regard the Treaty provisions as a maximum limitation, and not as a mandate to build up to capacity, and this theory seems to have a greater following than the other, which holds that each of the nations should build up to what the Treaty permits. There is also the feeling that if another conference is held in 1935 its accomplishments would be greater if the participating nations do not go ahead with great constructive programmes in the intervening five years." At the same time he warned that if one nation should initiate a maximum programme the others would likely follow.

I could give other quotations but I do not wish to labor the point. It is, however, a most important point, and I hope that the Government will see that we in this country come far short of building up to the limits laid down in the London Naval agreement. In that way I believe we shall be in a very strong position to secure a much bigger reduction in armaments when the next Conference meets. My other point is with respect to armaments in Europe. I am very much concerned about the situation in regard to Germany. The House must recognize that it will not be possible to hold Germany off from arming to an extent equal to the other nations of Europe, unless we are prepared to carry out our obligations under Article 8 of the Treaty of the League of Nations. We are all under an obligation to disarm, according to the promise made in 1919, and yet, after 12 years, we have not by any means fulfilled that obligation.

The Foreign Secretary made a remarkable and outspoken and a courageous utterance on this question at a meeting of the League in the present year. He said that the people of Europe were becoming impatient, and demanded that we should be loyal to the promise made under Article 8. We have to realize that either we, the other nations of Europe, must disarm, or else we shall have Germany coming back into line with the other armed nations of Europe and have an even worse position than that of 1914. At present, we have a great chance of securing world disarmament by taking action before it is too late with regard to Germany. Before long, we shall have to face the fact that if there are two nations not prepared to fall into line and accept disarmament, the other nations must see if it is not possible for them to take action themselves. There are other means whereby recalcitrant nations in this respect can be brought to their senses than by entering into competitive armaments with them.

I feel it my duty on this occasion to take part in this debate, because I regard this as one of the paramount issues of the age, and an issue which, if it be not settled within the next 10, 20, or 30 years, will probably mean the undoing of Western civilization. Furthermore, I am quite convinced that it is going to require not merely conferences to settle this matter, but courage to take risks that we have not yet taken. Whatever courage there may be in building up armaments or in using them, it takes a far bigger courage to do without those armaments and not to use them. I hope this House and this country will ere long be prepared to take the courageous course.

Thoughts of Tolstoy

[*Selections from Tolstoy's "Readings for Every Day," here published for the first time in English*]

LI

1.

The gentleness of the dove is not virtue. The dove is no more virtuous than the wolf. For man virtue begins only when he makes an effort to lead a good life, and the greater effort he makes, the more virtuous he is.

2.

When man strives to become better, it always happens that at times he falls and turns back. But these backslidings are always less than the movement ahead, so that in the end if a man makes an effort to lead a good life, he always moves toward good.

3.

To say that I cannot make the effort to restrain myself from an evil deed is the same as to acknowledge myself not a man, not even an animal, but a thing. Men who do not make an effort often say this, but however much they may say it, in their souls they know that so long as they live, effort is within their power.

4.

We make an effort to awake, and we actually do so, when a dream becomes so terrible that we have not the strength to bear it. We should do the same thing in life when it becomes unbearable, and, by an effort of the soul, awake from the animal to the spiritual life.

5.

The real enemies both of Christianity and of every faith are those who teach men that they can be saved by something besides their own effort; that they can

be saved by faith in atonement, by prayers, by rituals.

6.

Every true religion simply teaches that all human life is an effort to pass over from the lower animal nature to a life ever more and more spiritual.

LII

1.

We attain to all our best actions not by impetuous outbursts but, on the contrary, by quiet inner work over our own souls. All doors to the chambers of good and holiness open toward us and with effort. Only the door to perdition opens easily and without effort, at a single push.

2.

Do not repeat to one another what you hear of the ill deeds and shortcomings of your neighbours; and do not reveal to another what evil you know of their conduct. But if people speak ill to you of your neighbour, try to forget it. The less people know of the bad deeds of others, the better for them.

3.

We cannot in any way increase the felicity and holiness of our life. All our life is a thing of felicity and holiness. We should but strive with all our strength not to defile and spoil it; but we defile and spoil it not by *failing to do* this or that, but by *doing* what we might have refrained from doing.

4.

Of all the things that are done by man, there is one sort of action which demands the least physical effort of all but stands out from all the others by reason of its moral significance; and has therefore the greatest influence of all in the life of men. This thing is—the word.

When people dispute angrily with one another, a child does not try to distinguish who is right and who is wrong, but sorrowfully runs away from them, blaming both. And the child is always nearer to the truth than either of the disputants. He feels correctly, even if he cannot explain it, that as soon as there is a dispute, people begin to make use of words not for communication of the truth, but for strife with one another.

5.

Man with his passions is like the tamer of lions and bears in a menagerie. To bridle them, train them, make domestic animals, servants out of them: this is the business of every man. Let these beasts roar and be ready to tear you to pieces—they do not dare and they submit to you.

6.

If you want very much to speak, then by all means be silent for a while; or, rather, do not say at all what you want so much to say.

7.

In order to find joy in serving men and living creatures in general, you must first of all train yourself not to do evil to them, not to build your life on the sufferings and lives of others.

8.

Men feel desire, become excited and suffer only for the sake of that which they do not need. They get what is necessary without excitement or suffering. When it is hard to get what is necessary, this is mainly because before beginning to do what is necessary, you have done much that is unnecessary. And it is just these things that hinder the doing of what is necessary.

9.

De moryuis aut bene aut nihil. "Of the dead speak well or not at all." What a false maxim! We should say, on the contrary: of the living speak well or not at all. What sufferings this would rid men of, and how easy it is. And why not speak ill of the dead? In our world, on the contrary, it is the established rule, in obituaries and at jubilees, to speak of the dead only in terms of terribly exaggerated praise, hence of mere falsehood. And this brings great harm to men, by smoothing over the understanding of good and evil, and making it a matter of indifference.

LIII

1.

When misfortunes occur to you, know that they came about not from what you did, but from what you thought.

2.

We cannot rid ourselves of sins, snares, superstitions and delusions by efforts of the body. We can only free ourselves from them by efforts of thought. Only by thoughts can we train ourselves to be self-sacrificing, humble, upright and self-restrained in word and deed. Only when a man strives in his thoughts toward self-renunciation, humility, uprightness, self-restraint, will he have the strength to struggle with sins, snares, superstitions and delusions.

3.

Never forget that the main thing in your life is—your thoughts.

4.

Activity of thought is valuable not only because it amends our life, but also because it is an aid to the lives of others. For this reason efforts of thought are especially important.

5.

There is a spiritual force that moves the world, and yet escapes our attention. It is not in a book or a newspaper, not in speeches or laws or learned treatises, it is inapprehensible and always free. It is in the depths of the consciousness of men. This most powerful and inapprehensible free force is what appears in the soul of man, when all by himself he ponders over the phenomena of the world and afterwards imparts this force to the people with whom he comes in contact. Neither milliards of roubles, nor millions of troops, nor any institutions, nor wars, nor revolutions produce what may be brought forth by a free man's simple expression of what was revealed to him in thought.

6.

As the life and fate of the individual are determined by his thoughts, to which we pay less attention than we do to deeds; so the lives of communities of men and of nations are determined, not by the events that take place among them, but by the thoughts that unite the majority of them.

7.

Man can live without prayer only when sin has entirely taken possession of him, or when, on the contrary, he is free from sin. But for a man who is struggling with passions and living in the midst of snares, superstitions and delusions, prayer is an indispensable condition of the good life, since it restores in his consciousness a higher understanding of the meaning of his life, and of the guide to conduct that follows from this understanding.

(*To be Continued*)

Romain Rolland on Gandhi and India

I

[*Message to the Gandhi Society (London) on their celebration of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, October 2, 1930.—Translated from the French*]

For us Gandhi is not only the heroic leader of his great nation, who is vindicating its liberty and will attain his end. He is the surest and purest spiritual light that burns in the dark sky of our age. In the storms in which the tottering standards of our civilization threaten to perish with all that appertains to them, he is the star which shows us the way—the solitary way that lies open to salvation.

This way is within us. It is supreme energy. It is heroic Non-Acceptance. It is the barrier set up by the proud soul against injustice and violence. It is the revolution of the spirit.

That revolution does not divide races, classes, nations and religions. It unites them. In each man it awakens the sunken fire of the indivisible spirit, which has roused humanity from that nothingness to which its frenzy seeks to throw it back. It teaches Christians to be Christians once more (which they no longer are save in their Paternosters). It teaches "free Spirits" to be really free (which they no longer are save in vain speeches that are a mark of servility.) It teaches all men to respect one another again as equal sons of the same Father—of the same *Deus Optimus Maximus*—of the Spirit of light and love. Thus, as in the first days "when darkness was upon the face of the deep" (and it is still there today) that Spirit "moves upon the face of the waters."

II

[*Extracts from letter to Reginald Reynolds, of September 19, 1930, read at the gathering of October 2nd. Translated from the French*]

It is sad but explainable that truth should have so much difficulty in coming to light. The economic life of Great Britain is so used to living by the exploitation of India that it is almost impossible for the connection to be severed without suffering, perhaps mortal, for the whole social state of the present day. Accordingly people prefer to hide their heads behind a stone, like the ostrich, and to persuade themselves that they cannot see anything. They will only be more disastrously brought to book at the inevitable reckoning. It is a nemesis of iniquity. Taken once in its meshes, one cannot free one's self again. Payment must be made, and too often the innocent pay for the guilty. I know well that Gandhi's generous spirit is troubled by this inextricable situation and that he would have wished to spare England the physical suffering that he foresees. The blind ostrich will not have it that way.

I have the same conception of peace as you. I have as my motto (I have written it at the head of my last novel, *Mere et Fils*) that vigorous thought of Spinoza:

> "Peace, indeed, is not merely the negation of war:
> It is a virtue arising from the courage of the Soul."

The "pacifism" of the *"braves gens"* . . . is the death of all the virtues, and above all of the first virtue, energy, which is the mother of all virtues: the energy of thought which does not practice self-deception, which dares to be sincere with itself and the energy of the will, which dares to say what it really thinks and to do what it says. This emasculated "pacifism" has let itself become the false mask of democratic states of today, which ruin their people in armaments for the most ferocious of wars. The mask must be torn away! No dealings are possible with hypocrisy! Open violence is worth far more. It is more healthy, even though it kills.

Anti-Filipino Race Riots in California

One of the last things that I heard in New York before starting Westward was a sermon by Dr. Holmes on "Is America a Civilized Country?" One of the first things that I heard about after arriving in California was the Anti-Filipino Race Riots which occurred in Exeter and Watsonville, the former in October, 1929, the latter in January, 1930.

In January, 1930, the Chamber of Commerce of Northern Monterey, located in Pajaro, near Watsonville, seems to have taken the first step which led to the riots. This organization passed resolutions attacking the Filipinos. Judge D. W. Rohrback was the author. These resolutions charged the Filipino population with being undesirable citizens, "possessing unhealthy habits and working for a price destructive of the wage scale of other nationalities in agricultural and industrial pursuits."

In a newspaper article Judge Rohrback was also quoted as saying, that the resolution of the Monterey Chamber of Commerce was but the beginning of an investigation that would eventually lead to the exclusion of the Filipinos, "or to the deterioration of the white race in the state of California." Besides complaining of the lower wages accepted by Filipinos, they were criticized for living on fish and rice and it was said, "a few have married white girls. Others will. If the present state of affairs continues there will be forty thousand half-breeds in California before ten years have passed.

The resolution also stated that no violence was advocated, but that United States should grant independence to the Filipinos and then send them home, "that the white people who have inherited this country for themselves and their offspring may live."

The Filipinos made reply in a pamphlet. In it they said that the Filipinos were charged with being "but ten years removed from bolo and breechclout." If this is true, the pamphlet asked,

> Would you not feel proud to have emerged from bolo and breechclout and after ten years become a respectable citizen? If we live under bad housing conditions, why not report the case to the state's building inspector? If there are unhealthy conditions, why not report to the health officer of the state? Why blame us for our diet? Each country has its own peculiar diet.

To the charge in the resolutions that the Filipinos form partnerships and buy good cars and roll along the highways like "Solomon in all his glory," the pamphlet replied that California should be glad that the Filipinos, instead of sending their honestly earned

money to the Islands, spend it in cars, tires, gasoline and repairs, thus leaving the money in the United States.

In January, 1930, a small group of Filipinos leased a dance hall at Palm Beach, near Watsonville, and there with nine white dance-hall girls they set up what was called "a taxi dance-hall." The American owners of the property said that the Filipinos conducted their dances in a more orderly fashion than did many American groups, but the idea of Filipinos dancing with white girls aroused the white young men of Watsonville.

On Sunday, the 19th of January, threatening anti-Filipino demonstrations began. Several automobile parties of American young men went out to the resort, but were kept from coming close to the hall by deputies hired to guard the place. Several fights occurred that evening on the streets of Watsonville between Americans and Filipinos. On Tuesday night, the 21st, about thirty automobiles filled with Watsonville young men went to the Palm Beach dance hall. They were kept at bay by the sheriff and deputies.

But the next night there was an attack on the dance hall by a mob of about five hundred men and boys. They succeeded in breaking into the hall; they broke the windows and wrecked the interior. Later, Filipino dwellings were entered, property was destroyed, and Filipinos were beaten. One Filipino boy, Fermin Tober, was killed. He was one of a group attacked who refused to run away. He was shot by a bullet which tore through the door of the bunkhouse where he and his companions lived.

I have written the foregoing account after reviewing a report made to the Ingram Institute of Social Science of San Diego by E. S. Bogardus of the University of Southern California. The report asks, How did the Filipinos conduct themselves throughout the riots and afterwards? It answers, "When the rioting was at its worst, the Filipinos did not fight back. If they had done so, the riots would doubtless have turned into massacres."

The report concludes:

> The best citizens were slow to act. The church leaders wished to do the right thing but felt that somehow public opinion was against them, and that if they stood for fair play for the Filipinos their influential church members would turn against them. The major constituency of the Y. M. C. A. was apparently against the Filipinos.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

San Diego, California.

The Study Table

Jews, Arabs and English in Palestine

I am listing the book by Dr. Wise and Mr. de Haas in this article, in spite of the fact that it was ably reviewed by Rabbi Newman in the January 19th issue of UNITY, in order that I may present as a group these recent important contributions to the literature of Zion. I need add nothing in this place to Rabbi Newman's noble tribute to "The Great Betrayal"* except to record that the authors have given in this volume, upon the basis of elaborate documentation, a full statement of the abandonment by the British Empire of its solemn pledge to the Jewish people in the Balfour Declaration. Here is set down for all time the story of Britain's shameful part in the recent tragedy of Palestine. For the first time the truth is now known and proclaimed upon this vital question.

Maurice Samuel's book may be regarded as a kind of sequel to his earlier book, "What Happened in Palestine," which was written in the excitement immediately following the riots in August, 1929. This latter volume was important from the journalistic point of view, as it was the report by an eye-witness of the attacks on the Jewish settlements by the Arab uprising, but it was written too hurriedly, and was too much directed at the task of describing mere events, to offer any adequate presentation of the sources from which flowed the grievous troubles of that time. Now Mr. Samuel presents a carefully written volume which is a thorough-going study, from a scholarly and objective point of view, of the Jewish-Arab problem in Palestine.

"On the Rim of the Wilderness" was written during the summer and early fall of 1930. Its printing was delayed in order that the author might have time to examine the Simpson report and the Passfield White paper. Mr. Samuel prepared and here publishes a short addendum on these documents, in which, he says, he can find "no reason for changing any part of (his) text." The book is thus up to date as well as authentic.

Mr. Samuel divides his work into two parts, in the first of which he discusses the Arabs of Palestine, and in the second the Jews. He declares that the one question which lies at the heart of the existing problem is "whether the assertion of the Jewish right with regard to Palestine might mean the infliction of any wrong on its present Arab population." His whole book is an answer to this question. "I have attempted to prove," he says, "that not only does the coming of the Jews in no way clash with the rights of the Arab people of Palestine; it is on the contrary a forward step for the Arabs in the acquisition of their rights."

Mr. Samuel substantiates this verdict by a careful study of what the Jews have done in Palestine during the last two generations. Into the midst of a primitive, illiterate, superstitious, and miserable body of 700,000 Arab men and women, living as serfs upon the land, have come the Jews, the pioneers from the west, with their western standards and ideals. Wherever these Jews have gone in Palestine they have brought liberation and up-lift to the Arab. Mr. Samuel narrates in great detail the story of what the coming of the Jew has meant to the Arab people. It has equipped them with modern tools, furnished them with education and sanitation, increased their income, raised their standards of living, and above all, touched them with the hope of freedom. Partly by direct contacts, more by indirect influence, the Jew is today leading the Arab out of serfdom and bondage, and acquainting him for the first time with the possibilities of contemporary life.

That the Arabs appreciate this is known to everybody who has been to Palestine and met the Arabs.

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*"The Great Betrayal," by Stephen S. Wise and Jacob de Haas. Brentano, New York. $2.00.
"On the Rim of the Wilderness," by Maurice Samuel. Horace Liveright, New York. $2.50.
"About Zionism," by Albert Einstein. Macmillan Co., New York. $1.25.

To those who have not enjoyed this experience, it is made plain by Mr. Samuel in the first half of his book. Wherever the Jews have come upon the land, they have joined friendly and cooperative hands with the Arab settlers, and the two groups are little by little knitting successfully together their common destinies as workers. The struggle in Palestine, says Mr. Samuel, with perfect truth, is not fundamentally a struggle between Jews and Arabs for the possession of a land which they refuse to enjoy together. On the contrary, it is a struggle, on the one hand, between the feudal owners of the land, the ruthless exploiters of the helpless *fellaheen,* few in number and unscrupulous in character, and on the other hand the great mass of common people, the farmers and laborers, Jews and Arabs alike, who are rising to take over the land together as their common heritage of labor. In nothing is Mr. Samuel's book more valuable than in its revelation of the feudal order of society in Arab Palestine, which holds a few rich land-owning families at the top, and the multitudes of the wretched, poverty-stricken common people at the bottom. For centuries the *effendi,* the owners and rulers of the land, have exploited the farmers and shepherds and thus kept them and their families in unbelievable ignorance, poverty and wretchedness. It is because these Arab landlords see that the influence of the Jew is certain in the end to liberate the Arab masses, that they are now rising against Zionism before it is too late and calling upon Britain to defend their cause.

In his desire to clarify the fundamental aspects of the Palestinian situation, the author is tempted to neglect certain factors which complicate the essential simplicity of Jewish-Arab relationships. Thus, he says little of the Jewish chauvinists whose hands are raised against all Arabs just because they are Arabs. He does not undertake to describe the traditional loyalty of the *fellaheen* to their feudal chiefs who are at once their landlords, political leaders, religious teachers, and always the protectors of the country against the alien invader. He deliberately ignores any adequate statement of the English factor in the problem, the intrusion of the Empire into a confusion which is worse confounded by British insistence upon using contentious elements for their own political advantage.

Palestine today presents a three-fold problem. It has to do with the English, the Jews and the Arabs. Mr. Samuel has stated the Jewish and the Arab aspects of the problem, and from this double point of view his book takes its place as not only the latest but the best word upon the subject.

In the third book named above, Mr. Leon Simon of London, who has written often and effectively upon Zionism, has had the happy thought of gathering and presenting the speeches and letters of Professor Albert Einstein, "About Zionism," written during the last ten years. Einstein is first of all notable, of course, as the greatest scientist of his time. He has also become notable as an uncompromising pacifist who rivals the conscientious objectors in his utter denunciation of war. To the Jews, especially to the Zionists among them, he has endeared himself by his devotion to the cause of Zion. In this little volume are important statements on the subject running from 1920 to the latest utterance addressed to a Palestine Arab paper on January 28, 1930. In the earlier speeches and letters, Professor Einstein discussed problems of assimilation, nationalism, and the Jewish settlers on the ancient land. Suddenly, in the midst of the volume, there burst the massacres of 1929, and from this point on Professor Einstein is concerned exclusively with the problem of Jew and Arab. He insists that this tragic uprising cannot permanently injure Zionism, since the Jews will never abandon the work of reconstruction which they have undertaken. He challenges Britain to be faithful to the Balfour Declaration, and thus to fulfill the task assumed when the nation accepted the Mandate over Palestine. He appeals to the Arabs to recognize the fellowship of the Jews, and lays down the fundamental proposition that the Arab renaissance "stands only to gain from Jewish sympathy," and that it must be the destiny of "the two great Semitic peoples, each of which has in its way contributed something of lasting value to the west," to enjoy "a great future in common." The real tragedy of recent Palestine events is that "they have estranged the two peoples, and made it temporarily more difficult for them to approach one another." But, says Einstein, "come together they must, in spite of all."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Correspondence

For Catherine Breshkovsky's Schools

Editor of UNITY:

Catherine Breshkovsky, "the Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," is nearing her 87th birthday.

A nobleman's daughter, she early espoused the cause of the people, and spent many years in prison and in exile. Everywhere she was a source of cheer and inspiration to those around her. George W. Keenan, who met her in Siberia, wrote: "My standards of courage, of fortitude and heroic self-sacrifice have been raised for all time, and raised by the hand of a woman."

Unable to live in Russia because she is out of sympathy with the Bolsheviki, she has founded several boarding schools for poor children in Russian Carpathia, now a district of the Czechoslovak republic. The people of this province are of Russian stock, very poor and ignorant, but highly gifted by nature, she says, and eager for education. She has supported these schools for years, chiefly with American money, but she is always hard pressed to maintain them. It is hoped that her American friends will celebrate her birthday by sending a contribution, large or small, for her schools. Her address is Catherine Breshkovsky, Care of Madame Archangelsky, Drubezarna, P. Horny Pocernice, U Prahy, Prague, Czechoslovakia; or I will gladly forward any contributions.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL
3 Monadnock St., Upham's Corner, *Boston, Mass.*

Flogging of Indian Political Prisoners

Editor of UNITY:

Sometime ago a very important and influential Labor member of the British Parliament wrote to you to the effect that Indian political prisoners are not subjected to flogging. On the authority of Mr. Brailsford and others it is conclusively established now that in some cases Indians—non-violent non-co-operators—have been beaten to death. Here I wish to record that, under the name of preserving discipline in prisons, political prisoners in India are flogged and most brutally treated. The enclosed newspaper clipping will show that recently some of the Indian political prisoners went on a hunger-strike as a protest against the flogging of political prisoners practiced in jails.

There are more than 60,000 political prisoners in India. They should be regarded as prisoners of war, because they are working for freedom of their country. I wish to state to the civilized world that the treatment accorded to Indian political offenders by the Britsh authorities is most

barbarous and in violation of the practices of the International Red Cross regulations. I tried to draw the attention of the League of Nations to this fact, through some American professors who are enthusiastic supporters of the League, but I was informed that the Indian question cannot be discussed by the League because it is Britain's private affair. However, I have noticed that British statesmen and even the American State Department have protested against slavery in Liberia. The condition in India—especially the condition of political prisoners in India—is far worse than slavery in Liberia, *because in India legalized murder of innocent people by lathi charges, bayonet charges and shootings, legalized plunder and destruction of property of Indian tax-resisters are being carried on by the police and the military, with the sanction of the British Labour Government over which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald presides.*

The British Government—be it Conservative, Liberal or Labor—practices a double standard of international morality; one for the British or the rulers, and the other for Indians, their slaves. This fact cannot be denied by those who know the truth of the present situation in India. I am sure Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and others are not unaware of the fact.

TARAKNATH DAS

What the Hard Times Are Doing to Unity!

Editor of UNITY:

(1)

My subscription expired October 5 but through your generosity I have been receiving it since, for which I am grateful. I prize every number.

Enclosed please find my check for $1.10 to cover subscription to February 1, when much to my regret I shall have to forego taking UNITY for a time for lack of funds.

H. A. C.

Editor of UNITY:

(2)

As my subscription for UNITY ends the 4th of February, I regretfully write that no longer shall I be able to subscribe for the paper, as I am one of the depositors in a bank that has been in the hands of the receiver for several months. After filing our claims, as yet nothing tangible has been received.

I shall have to forego the coming of the noble, helpful weekly visitant of so many years. It seems hard.

M. P.

Editor of UNITY:

(3)

I regret more than I can express that I am not in a position to renew my subscription. I hope that later I may.

F. M.

Editor of UNITY:

(4)

Sorry I have to discontinue my subscription, as I am unemployed.

H. C. M.

Editor of UNITY:

(5)

I am sorry that my income this year will not permit me to continue my subscription.

T. S. W.

[Here are opportunities for UNITY's friends to help UNITY by sending in gift subscriptions which will enable us to keep these subscribers in our books. Such gifts will be twice blessed. Who will help?—Editor.]

Ten Hymns of World Peace

Dedicated to the Youth of all lands, the World-Lovers and Peace-Lovers, who today in noble revolt from the past are creating a World-Will to abolish War by doing away with its causes.

(The author does not copyright these hymns, and any one is free to use any or all of them at any time and in any way.)

Make Earth Holy Ground

Tune, St. Gertrude ("Onward Christian Soldiers")

Sounding down the ages
Comes the call to Peace;
Prophets, heroes, sages
Summon war to cease.
Tirelessly we follow
In the way they led;
War no more must wallow
In its gory bed!
Refrain: Gleaming through the darkness,
Brighter every day,
Love's celestial beacon
Is our guide and stay.

Sons and brothers call us;
Weeping mothers moan,—
"Woe may yet befall us
Worse than earth has known!"
Stay the awful sorrow
Ere the blast shall sound;
Build a fair tomorrow;
Make earth Holy Ground!
Refrain: Gleaming through the darkness, etc.
All our prayers and preachings
Fail us if we shirk!
God's and man's beseechings
Bid to ceaseless work.
Beauty for life's ashes
We may bring to man;
Ere War's thunder crashes
Peace for earth we plan.
Refrain: Gleaming through the darkness, etc.

Rise, O world, to duty;
Brotherhood proclaim!
Friendliness is beauty,
War is woe and shame!
Skies with light are surging,
Peace may yet abound;
God and man are urging,
"Make earth Holy Ground!"
Refrain: Gleaming through the darkness, etc.

Join Hands, O Peoples!

(Tune, L.M. Dbl.)

Beneath the high cathedral-roof
Which lights the growing Church of Man—
The Church where none need stand aloof,
But each serves each, as all men can—
Beneath this blue, resplendent arch
What joy and sorrow daily march,
In hopeful, gay processional,
In sad despair's recessional!

Its altar is the human heart,
And teachers at that altar stand
Whose eager promptings would impart
Relief for every groaning land.
They probe no more the Far and Vast,
But building wiser than the Past
They toil for present peace and good,
And sound the blest word "Brotherhood"!

As incense in that sacred zone
Rise deeds of good that glow and gleam;
And Hope's appealing organ-tone
Swells loud and wide love's lofty theme.
Oh why do nations stand apart
And still deny the human heart!
Join hands, O peoples!—One, yet Free!—
And end earth's age-long misery.

The Dayspring

(Tune, 10.10.10.10.)

Earth's night is waning! Beautiful and fair
The dayspring flashes gold across the deep.
The wailing nations rouse, and cease to weep,
For War and Want lie wounded in their lair.

Earth's ignorance is ending! Right shall reign!
The woes that thrive in darkness shall retire
And vanish in the new celestial fire
That man finds kindling in his soul and brain.

O human race! whose love-enlightened heart
Adds gleam to gleam that ever shall increase,
Toil on, till rays of universal peace
Illumine every earthly field and mart!

The Good of All

(Tune, 7.6.7.6. Dbl.)

The law of life is simple,
Men tangle it and weep.

Join in with cosmic forces,
O man, and know their sweep!
Through ages seers and prophets
Have shown transcendent way,—
And men still stagger blindfold
And cringe and curse and pray.

Earth gives unbounded riches;
Her board for all is spread,—
And some men blaze with baubles
And some men starve for bread.
Oh, crowned among the nations
That first seeks selfless ends!
More rich than oil of Irak
The spikenard binding friends.

The good of all earth's children
Alone can bring earth bliss;
To heal the woe of ages
The East and West must kiss.
Ponder, ye foolish peoples!
Seek justice! follow right!
Then grief shall turn to gladness,
Your darkness shall be light.

All Nations of the Earth

(Tune, 8.6.8.6.8.8.—"Wessex," "Calm," or "Horeb.")

Come, let us live as brothers should,
All nations of the earth,
And seeking each the other's good
Bring age-long dreams to birth!
Man's aim might then life's bliss pursue,
And love have scope it never knew.

Forsaking hate's old selfishness
Which thirsts to maim and kill,
Youth's buoyant strength the earth might bless,
And fruitful orchards till,
Rear sculptured art in scenic towers,
Charm deserts into fields of flowers.

Rare avenues up hill-top heights,
By wooded lure and lake,
With cooling founts and sunset lights
Where toil its ease should take,
Might furnish fainting souls with rest
And calm like visions of the blest.

Instead of battle's crushing flail,
And shrieks where carnage reigns,
Instead of children's hopeless wail
For food a beast disdains,
With peace hozannas would arise
From happy earth to happy skies.

O Nations! lift the lofty hymn
O'er oceans, world around,—
"No more shall War rend limb from limb,
But earth be holy ground!"
Then age shall bless, each child have mirth,
And good revivify the earth.

O Lover Wise on Hills of Palestine

(Tune, 10.10.10.10.)

"If ye continue in my word," said he
Who walked of old through flowery Galilee,
"The truth ye then shall know." Ah, teacher great!
Thy word the world's late years still illustrate.

Thy gospel was of simplest thought and deed:
Two words alone thy all-embracing creed,—
To seek! to love!—God's utmost truth to seek;
In love for man that utmost truth to speak.

New days require new thoughts, new words, new works:
Blasphemer he who those new meanings shirks!
The Past did well,—it could but blindly see;
To larger knowledge be as faithful we!

O lover wise on hills of Palestine,
Be ours to emulate great love like thine,
Till nations banish every sword and spear,
And live the perfect love that casts out fear.

Good Shall Conquer, Never Fear

(Tune, "Triumph By-and-By," Gospel Hymns 289)

Be we the courage-bringers!
Let laugh the bells, O ringers!
Earth's hero-hearts and singers
Promise Peace.
Despair and grief why borrow?—
Full long has man had sorrow!
Work, joyful, for the morrow,—
Wrong shall cease.

Chorus: Never fear! Light is growing!
Never fear! Truth is flowing
Where humanity shall share it,—
Never fear!
Never fear! clouds are fleeing;
Never fear! men are seeing
That the Good at last shall conquer,—
Never fear!

With hope and high endeavor
Earth's great have striven ever
The bonds of ill to sever,—
We may trust!
The Past's prophetic preaching,
The Present's clearer teaching,
The Future's forward-reaching,—
Win they must!

Chorus: Never fear! Light is growing! etc.

Man yet is onward striving,
All happy art is thriving,
The Age of Good arriving,—
Give it scope!
The heights of being call us;
If doubt nor fear appall us
Life's splendor shall befall us,—
Work and hope!

Chorus: Never fear! Light is growing! etc.

The Age of Good

(Tune, S.M. Dbl.)

Mankind has waited long;
Still saved by hope it waits,
Calming its eagerness with song
While quelling fears and hates.
No more the soul is bound
By childhood's partial creeds:
Love makes the earth all holy ground
And fills all human needs.

War's trumpet still may peal,
And Greed with Greed may fight,
But they who shape earth's future weal
Urge Brotherhood and right.
The flashing sunlight clear
On every mountain's head
Is symbol of earth's passing fear;
Wrong's foggy hosts are fled.

O happy Age-to-Be,
When Ignorance lies prone!
When Love has perfect liberty,
Nor meets for bread a stone!—
Be ours to sing thy praise,
Be ours to aid thy birth,
And sooner bring the wished-for days
Of righteousness on earth.

The Righteous Part

(Tune, 10.10.10.10.)

How beautiful is youth which sets its heart
To know earth's needs—and takes the righteous part!
O magic word, "Together!"—this the charm
To speed the race beyond the power of harm!

Let knowledge grow; let men discern their power
To guide and curb the instincts that devour,
Till all the mighty passion of the race
Shall tend to helpfulness and health and grace.

The world grows better! If the paths of wrong
Seem many, and the road to virtue long,
This only means that man's ideals are high,
And patience needed by who climbs the sky.

There is a glory dawning for the race;
Each passing year adds beauty to its face,
Each year adds richer lustre to its eye,
Each year finds sundered nations drawing nigh.

High joy of joys!—to stand with stalwart arm
Across each path that threatens human harm,
Till hoping, longing nations, near and far,
All rise and follow when they see the star.

Morning

(Tune, L.M.—"Missionary Chant.")

O upward-springing morning light!
Forth-bursting from the caves of night
To dissipate earth's pall and gloom
And bid man's works to beauty bloom!

Beneath thy all-enkindling ray
Our souls expand to greet the day,
And fain would catch, on Wisdom's road,
The light to life's serene abode.

Then men shall live Love's higher law,
Till nations show nor stain nor flaw,
Nor man from Virtue's fairer heights
Be held by ancient appetites.

Then realms now weak 'neath old decree
Of fear and want and rivalry,
Shall seek each other's peace and good,
And lift one banner—"Brotherhood."

O Dawn of ever-brightening Truth!
Earth's waywardness, as of its youth,
Dispel, revealing manhood's strength,
That life diviner be at length!

James H. West

(*Continued from Page* 370)

during the present session of Congress or, if necessary, at a special session of the Senate alone.

"The question of United States membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice has been before the country for many years. The Senate accepted the principle that this country should join in the work of the court when, on Jan. 27, 1926, by 76 to 17, it voted in favor of ratification of the World Court treaty, subject to five reservations. These reservations have been met by the protocols submitted to the Senate by the President on Dec. 10, 1930. This is the view of the President, the Secretary of State and of leading legal authorities in the United States.

"If action thus taken by the Senate after careful and thorough deliberation is now to be repudiated the foreign relations of the United States cannot be carried on. Since the action of the Senate in 1926 the United States has become a party to the Kellogg-Briand peace pact, which implies and requires such a court for its fulfillment.

"We believe that to delay action on the court protocols for another year would lead to attempts to postpone such action indefinitely and would result in a serious setback to the movement for world justice and enduring peace.

"While we appreciate the pressure of essential legislation during this session and have no desire to interfere with such legislation, we are convinced that the Senate, if it functions efficiently, can dispose of this business and also bring the question of United States membership in the court to an early vote. We therefore call upon our respective Senators to lend their support to prompt and favorable action on the World Court protocols."

Preliminary Announcement of National Women's Trade Union League of America

Southern Industrial Conference
O'Henry Hotel, Greensboro, North Carolina, March 7 and 8, 1931

"Industrial Peace—How Achieved?"

A conference to aid in the creation of an intelligent understanding public on the working conditions in the South; To present the facts on industrial arbitration and the trade union agreement in maintaining industrial peace.

Saturday, March 7—Morning session, 10 o'clock, "Historical Progress Toward Industrial Peace." Southern industrialism: the agricultural and industrial South Historical survey of woman's place in industry, with emphasis on textiles.

Discussion.

Afternoon session, 2 o'clock—"Industrial Peace Through Employer and Employee Relationships." Employer and employee relationships from the viewpoint of management. Industrial peace through the trade union agreement. Discussion.

Evening session, 8 o'clock—"The Community and Industrial Peace."

Sunday, March 8, 1931—Afternoon session, 2 o'clock. "Public Opinion and Industrial Peace." The Church and Public Opinion. The Union and Public Opinion. The Press and Public Opinion. Discussion.

Military Training Suspended

Compulsory military training has been suspended in New Zealand and there is little doubt that our New Zealand Section, the No More War Movement, should be congratulated. For many months it has been carrying on, in conjunction with a number of other movements, a very vigorous Anti-Conscription Campaign, and large numbers of signatures have been obtained to a petition calling for the abolition of the conscription of boys. It should be remembered that some 50,000 prosecutions of boys, for refusing military drill, have taken place in New Zealand since the war.

A peculiar position has now arisen. The New Zealand Government have presented a Bill to Parliament giving formal endorsement to the ministerial power to suspend compulsory military training, also containing provision for the establishment of a voluntary army. This Bill, however, has been rejected by 15 votes to 9 in the Upper House. Rejection of the Bill, while it does not in the least interfere with the ministerial power to suspend military training, has the effect of abolishing New Zealand's army, because it has rejected the Government's proposals for a voluntary system. There is little doubt that the matter will not be left here!

We are glad to note that our New Zealand Section has begun to establish branches in different parts of the country. —*The War Resister.*

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